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Freedom—Restraint.

* * * But all this does not prove, that liberty, free action, is not an infinite good, and that we should seek and guard it with sleepless jealousy. For if we look at the various restraints of which I have spoken, we shall see that liberty is the end and purpose of all. Nature's powers around us hem us in, only to rouse a free power within us. It acts that we should react. Burdens press on us, that the soul's elastic force should come forth. Bounds are set, that we should clear them. The weight, which gravitation fastens to our limbs, incites us to borrow speed from winds and steam, and we fly where we seemed doomed to creep. The sea, which first stopped us, becomes the path to a new hemisphere. The sharp necessities of life, cold, hunger, pain, which chain man to toil, wake up his faculties, and fit him for wider action. Duty restrains the passions, only that the nobler faculties and affections may have freer play, may ascend to God, and embrace all his works. Parents impose restraint, that the child may learn to go alone, may outgrow authority.

Government is ordained, that the rights and freedom of each and all may be inviolate. In study thought is confined, that it may penetrate the depths of truth, may seize on the great laws of Nature, and take a bolder range. Thus freedom, ever-expanding action, is the end of all just restraint. Restraint, without this end, is a slavish yoke. How often has it broken the young spirit, tamed the heart and the intellect, and made social life a standing pool. We were made for free action. This alone is life, and enters into all that is good and great. Virtue is free choice of the right; love, the free embrace of the heart; grace, the free motion of the limbs; genius, the free, bold flight of thought; eloquence, its free and fervent utterance. Let me add, that social order is better preserved by liberty, than by restraint.

The latter, unless most wisely and justly employed, frets, exasperates, and provokes secret resistance; and still more, it is rendered needful very much by that unhappy constitution of society, which denies to multitudes the opportunities of free activity. A community, which should open a great variety of spheres to its members, so that all might find free scope for their powers, would need little array of force for restraint. Liberty would prove the best peace-officer. The social order of New England, without a soldier and almost without a police, bears loud witness to this truth.

—[William Ellery Channing.]

The Religion of Jesus.

The religion which Jesus so perfectly illustrated with his lips and life was no other than the religion of reason—that one and only true religion which is adapted to all ages and all peoples, and which stands opposed to all those fabrications of the cunning, and all those superstitions of the credulous, which are called religion. These fabrications and superstitions, and in short, every other religion than that of reason, Jesus confronted. No enthusiasm or mysticism found any favor with him. The religion he taught was so obviously true as to make its appeal to natural sense and universal intuition. So simple was it that he found no occasion for sending men to books and priests to acquire an understanding of it. On the contrary, he put them upon their own convictions for the solution of its problems, and asked them: "Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?" He found reason outraged by monstrous claims in the name of religion: and the one work of his ministry—the one work which, amid all the storms of passion and prejudice and bigotry he pursued so unfalteringly and calmly and sublimely—was to re-establish the dominion of reason. He found common-sense reduced to a ruinous discount by its concessions to religious tricks and fooleries; and he undertook to restore it to par. Such was then and is now the whole of the religion of Jesus. It is common-sense religion.—[Gerrit Smith.]

Religion Rational: a Plain Talk with Brother Murray.

[Concluded.]

And now a word in defense of my Brother Paul. Not because I have any desire to clear up the character of all the Bible writers—not because I would wish to prove him infallible, but because you are a little too hard on him; and I believe in the good old-fashioned principle of "standing up" for the absent. And because if, and supposing, my Brother Murray and myself should be some day walking, arm and arm, up the streets of the New Jerusalem, as I expect we shall, and we should there meet Brother Paul in company with some of the Christians whom *he* persecuted, walking down the street; and I should feel called upon, as I naturally would, to introduce Brother Murray to Brother Paul; and Brother Paul should then enquire, as of course he would, if it was "that same Murray who in his rancorous days always spelled God with a small g—the one who lived down in Warren County, Ohio, and wrote a chapter about my lying for the glory of God?"—because, I say, that supposing all these very supposable events to happen, I should feel much better to have Brother Paul turn round and say to me, smilingly, "Thank you for taking my part in my absence," than to have him say, "Why didn't you put Murray upon his trumps, and disabuse him of his false impressions concerning me?"

Dropping the plea-antey, I think that the question involved in the phrase, "Lying for the glory of God," or, in other phraseology, Justifying the means by the end, or, in still other, Doing evil that good may come—the question of which is the superior principle, Truth or Good—is one on which honest men may differ. However high an appreciation I may have of the beauty of truthfulness and consistency, I rather incline to the opinion that Good is the higher utility, and Truth only an auxiliary.

If this is too "transcendental" for a "common comprehension," I will try and "come down" by an illustration. If I, hating Slavery and slaveholders, had pledged myself before God and man that I would never vote for one; and it should afterwards become apparent that by so doing I could abolish Slavery, would I give him my suffrage through lying and perjury, and accomplish the "good," or would I preserve my consistency and truthfulness and sacrifice the slave? If I were master of a ship, and some accident should occur, which imperiled the lives of all on board, and a panic should create such a disturbance that I could neither save the ship nor passengers except by tell-

ing a lie to obtain the necessary quiet, would I tell it and save the ship, or would I let it go down and save my truthfulness? I should "lie to the glory of God," or the advancement of good, in both cases. And so, I think, would Brother Murray, had he hated a liar. The glory which I would ascribe to God would be not "because he is God," but because he is good. And if Paul did not mean that, then I would agree with Brother Murray against him, for there is no virtue in truth or justice in itself.

"The maker and creator of both and all (gods and devils) is human ignorance—lack of development. Here is the origin of all gods and devils, all religion." Here is a statement which all will agree, as I think, is "important if true." What guarantee have we, Brother Murray, that it is true? It comes in the form of affirmative truth—positive science. Do you intend it to be accepted as such? I ask the question—I press the answer. How do you know? I submit to all candid and correct reasoners that you have no right (moral or course) to make such a statement as this unless you have better means of knowing than other men have, except you would have it go as your opinion merely. I don't know that there is any devil; or even that there is any God. I know that there is Good. I know that there is Evil. It is my opinion that both principles are personified and self-existing. It is your opinion that they are not.

"Man is plainly a part of developing Nature—has always been rising, never falling." Another statement, important if true. I ask for the proof. "Always" is quite a long time. Certainly man is very much mixed up with developing Nature; and in that sense is a part of it. But who knows enough about his origin to say that he did not exist in some state prior to this? What is the history of this Planet, whether six thousand or six million years old, to the history of the Universe? And if we admit that man has been progressing upwards from as far back as any thing is known of him, that does not prove that he may not have previously fallen. "Circular progress" may, for aught we know, be the order of the Universe. My authority for my belief does not rest only, or mainly, on any rendering of any part of any one book, although I think there is a good deal of truth foreshadowed in even those parts which you regard as ridiculous; and which, in a literal interpretation of them, certainly are. I have no disposition at present to undertake the job of getting at the meaning of all the passages in the Pentateuch, nor even of ascertaining whether they have any meaning. I am free to confess that I do not admire—that I dislike the

style in which many "supernatural" communications, both ancient and modern, are given; but it does not seem to me the part of wisdom to regard an important message on account of the phraseology in which it is clothed. And if I can not get at the details, if I can master the leading facts, I will try to make as good use of them as though they had come in a style more suited to my taste.

There are but few things in this "supernaturalism" which I know, while there are more which I believe. Among the things which I know (for myself) is, that Brother Murray's theory in regard to it is incorrect—that it is not all of it of mundane origin. That is, I know it as well as any proposition can be established by a process of reasoning. I know that I have conversed hour after hour with "supernatural" intelligences—separate, distinct entities and individualities; as much separate and distinct as O. S. Murray is from C. M. Overton. I have had as abundant evidence of the fact as I have of the fact that the communications coming through the *NEW REPUBLIC*, signed O. S. M., are not a reflex of my own mind, or any one's mind, but come from an independent, original source. I know by a long mental acquaintance obtained through interchange of ideas on various subjects, that they are wise and good. I conclude that they, some of them, belong to the same school of beings, some of whose sayings and doings are recorded in the Old and New Testaments, by the same process of reasoning by which I satisfy myself that such a writer in the *NEW REPUBLIC* belongs to the Harmonial school of Philosophers, and such a one to the Materialistic. I believe that some of them are men and women who have lived here on the Earth, my personal friends and acquaintances, just as I should conclude, if I saw a communication through a medium on the subject of Religion, full of unwarranted assumptions and small g's, that O. S. Murray was dead. It is not a matter of knowledge in either case, but only of probability, for there may be, for aught we know to the contrary, other powers in existence who are acquainted with the peculiarities of our friends, and have the power to imitate and personate them. I only know that some "supernatural" power exists and communicates with the children of Earth—a power which exists from age to age, and which, as I believe, foresees and controls, to a great extent, the fate of this Planet and the destinies of men. I do not know that there is truth in all the cardinal doctrines of the Christian religion—the fundamental articles of the Christian faith—but I believe there is. And I have been forced to this conclusion, not arbitrarily, tyrannically, dog-

matically, in the interest or fear of any "god or devil," but in the uttermost freedom, and the most entire possession of my independent individuality, and with the most satisfactory recognition of my rights as a man, and my birthright as an intellectual, thinking being. I have been forced to this conviction against the whole current of my ideas, the whole tenor of my life—step by step, inch by inch, over inclinations, habits, associations, petrified by years of culture—against antipathies and prejudices as strong as those of a Denton, as bitter as those of a Murray.

I do not pretend to understand all the "mysteries of Godliness," or "supernaturalism," any more than I comprehend the mysteries of "Nature," or life in any of its departments. But there is something in them. They are not all imposture, as you Materialists suppose. Let me say here, however, that I was not referring to Materialists, particularly, as "Earth mongers," in the article to which you refer. I have a very high regard for the better class of Material Philosophers—those who are disposed to do something and suffer something for the truths which they deem to be of vital importance.

The God that I worship judges a man by the motive, the disposition, "the heart," and not by the amount of positive truth in his possession. An honest-minded, conscientious, self-sacrificing, manly man is the noblest work of God; whether he be Infidel or Christian, Jew, Turk or Arab. An upright, outspoken Atheist, is a much better man than an ordinary church-member; and, as I believe, much nearer the kingdom. Do not, I pray you, judge the religion of Jesus by that of the popular church-members. I tell you it is base coin. It may pass in this world, but it will be nailed to the counter in the next. It is a Christianity without Christ. According to Christ's own teachings they are the "last" that shall enter his kingdom. "The publicans and harlots shall go in before them." They are not the followers of Jesus. At best they are self-deceived and deceiving. Do the "signs" follow them? Would they know him, would they recognize him if he were to come again on Earth as he did of old? Yes, as the Jews did, as he will them in the Judgment. Would he visit their temples? Yes, perhaps, to upset the tables of the money-changers. But he could not obtain an audience: nor would he wish to, unless to pronounce a woe upon chief priests and elders, scribes, pharisees, lawyers and rich men. He would seek rather the ostracised victims of political tyranny, social injustice, and Christian Phariseism; the slave in our cotton fields, the criminal in our prisons, the prostitutes in our streets and brothels, and admin-

ister the balm of consolation to their bruised and bleeding spirits, and tell them of a better world where they might go and forget their wrongs and sufferings—"man's inhumanity to man." Even with the eye of mind I see the two classes assembled around the "throne," and witness the test applied of the fellowship of the skies—"morality, humanity, philanthropy." Even now I behold the great Philanthropist as he extends the hand of compassion over the heads of these poor outlawed children of Earth, and turning to his expectant, self-righteous followers, pronounces the final judgment: "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto the least of these *my brethren*, ye did it not to me." "I never knew you."

C. M. O.

Praying for the President.

"At a meeting of several hundred women of various denominations, held at the Park street Church, Boston, September 8, a circular was adopted to the women of the United States, suggesting to them to form circles of prayer throughout the land, and to pray for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the entire Nation; for the President and his counselors; for the officers of the army and navy; for our soldiers and seamen, for their families; for ministers of the Gospel, and for the oppressed of our land; and agreeing to observe Monday of every week as a day of especial prayer, assembling at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M.—each service to occupy two hours."

The ladies have done good service since the war commenced; but the Bostonian members of the sex now seem disposed to abandon patriotism for piety, to the great detriment of the cause. They will benefit the soldiers a great deal more by scraping lint than psalm-singing. One yard of sticking-plaster will be of more service to the victims of a battlefield than the longest prayer that feminine volubility could pour forth. They may pray for soldiers' and sailors' families; but the objects of their sanctimonious solicitude would like to know how many of said prayers would pay a quarter's rent, or satisfy the claim of the corner grocery man. They may implore Divine Providence in behalf of the army and navy, but until they can pray courage into cowards, and activity and vigor into a superannuated fossil, their orisons will ascend no higher than smoke from a crooked chimney. No; it won't do; the Administration is past praying for. Let the fair votaries pray for water to run up hill, for fire to freeze, and frost to set the East River on fire, but not waste their benevolent importunities on what is beyond the reach of realization, since the age of miracles is departed.—[N. Y. Sunday Mercury.]

The intuition of the Sympathetic Nerve is wiser than the best physician.—[A. J. Davis.]

Robbery and Abuse of Sick Soldiers.

We observed in the dispatches the other day, that Surgeon Mussey, of this city, had reported to the Government some glaring frauds and abuses in the management of the military hospitals in and about Washington. The frauds are not specified, but, from statements made by other parties, we presume it is the heinous offense of robbing the sick and wounded soldiers of their diet.

The matter has already engaged the attention of the State association in Washington for the relief of the sick and wounded, and some startling developments have been made. The correspondent of the Chicago Times publishes some statements made at a delegate meeting of these associations. Among others, a gentleman from Michigan, representing the oldest relief association in the city, stated that some of the hospitals "would disgrace any penitentiary in Christendom." He further stated that "he went through the (Judiciary Square) Hospital, and the unanimous testimony of the men was, that they were starving because they could not eat the food furnished them," which diet is as follows:

Breakfast—Coffee that was horrible, and which every man execrated. There was no difference of opinion as to its bad quality, but there was on the question of sweetening, some contending that a very minute particle of sugar had been thrown in, while others insisted that it had not been sweetened at all. Accompanying a pint cup of this stuff was a quarter of a pound of bread, and that was all that was allowed at that meal.

Dinner—Vegetable soup, made up of all sorts of vegetables, of which cabbage was the principal ingredient; and it is well known that cabbage is very offensive to some stomachs; with these a very small proportion of meat was boiled. About three fourths of a pint cup of this was given to each man, in which might be discovered a piece of meat the size of two fingers. With this was given a small piece of bread. If that was not enough, and a man asked for more, he was furnished with an additional crust of bread which was left by some sicker patient.

Supper—A cup of tea as bad as the coffee, and the invariable crust of bread.

This was the daily diet, day after day, week after week, without variation. It was the same at the Douglas Hospital.

The disabled soldier is allowed his usual rations. The food not being fit for an invalid, the surgeon is allowed to commute the rations of his patients, draw cash instead of pickled pork, &c., and with the cash purchase such articles as will strengthen the weakened system. It would seem from the above statements that the surgeons have adopted the practice of putting the surplus cash in their pockets, while the suffering soldier starves. But developments more revolting than this inhuman rob-

bery of dying patriots, have been made. We quote from the same source:

One poor fellow in a certain hospital was very low with the hospital diarrhoea, and the ignorant assistant surgeon was dosing him with castor oil and turpentine. The patient found his complaint growing worse and worse of course. He refused to take the medicine, and went out in the yard and gathered a certain weed, which he steeped, and doctor-ed himself, and found he was recovering fast. The doctor learned of his refusal to take the medicine, and ordered him confined in the guard house thirty hours. ["Shame!"] He was then taken out, sent to his bed, and his clothes taken from him, while his doctor addressed him in this choice language: "Damn you, I'll keep you in bed until you do take my medicine."

Here another:

Another gentleman complained of the impudence of the deputy surgeons in the hospitals. His feelings had been so outraged that he could not consistently with self respect, visit some of the hospitals.

A gentleman from New York said he had been so fortunate as to visit a certain hospital which had been complained of, and he found that the food was of such a character that the men were starving rather than eat it. In one instance a man was fed through the fence by a benevolent family in the vicinity, and that man was recovering rapidly, while others were sinking. Nearly all in the hospital declared they would be on their feet in two weeks if they could have proper food.

And here another:

Another, from the same State, told of an instance which occurred in an Alexandria hospital. His wife went to the hospital and found three men in the upper story who had lain four days with the bloody clothes of the battle-field on their bodies, and their wounds still not dressed. His wife and another lady called the attention of the doctors, who were sitting in the office below smoking cigars, to the condition of these men. They declared they were doing all they could; and the men died from starvation and neglect. And when the head surgeon was asked to remedy the abuse, he insolently replied: "We can attend to our own affairs." Under that same surgeon lie eleven Rebel prisoners, and the Alexandria Secessionists are allowed permission to go every day with all sorts of luxuries for the traitors, while Union women are refused the poor privilege of ministering to the brave Union soldiers, only at certain hours.

That such proceedings are tolerated at the seat of Government, is a terrible comment upon the imbecility of the Administration. It is said that the deaths in the hospitals average forty per cent. of the patients!

We regret to say that Washington is not alone the scene of these medical horrors. We have been called upon frequently to make similar developments in this section.

The Government has paid no attention to the com-

plaints; in fact, Congress refused, when the subject was brought to its attention through an article in the Times, read at the clerk's desk of the House of Representatives, to entertain an investigation. We hope now, that a medical supervisor has been found who has the courage to lay hold of the horrible practices, and has officially reported the facts, that something will be done toward making our military hospitals at least equal to our penitentiaries.

—[Cincinnati Times.

Let Us Serve Humanity.

By far too much thought has been given to gods and devils, heavens and hells, and too little to Humanity. It is time that we ceased studying how to please imaginary deities, and turned our attention to bettering the condition of suffering human kind. Henceforth let us endeavor to inculcate the principles of true living—the avoidance of misery and degradation, and the securing of happiness and moral and spiritual elevation, here and now.

We must teach men to be virtuous—to do the right, and avoid the wrong. But virtue and right action do not consist in rigid obedience to the "arbitrary moralities," nor in blind adherence to the letter of customs and institutions; but rather in an observance of the Natural Laws—in truthfulness to ourselves—in justice to others.

We can only judge of the right or wrong of actions from their effects: that which tends to promote the happiness or welfare of any, without entailing burdens on others, is right; that which is counter to right is of course wrong. We only sin when we knowingly commit acts which throw burdens or bring misery upon others.

All institutions—of church, of state, of society—are the outgrowths or creations of men, and are necessarily imperfect; they are the mere stepping-stones placed by man to assist him in his perilous ascent from mental and spiritual labyhood to the divine heights of mature knowledge and wisdom. It is a great wrong we do ourselves and the race when we look upon institutions as god-ordained, above and beyond the reach of Humanity, instead of accepting them as mere aids to help Humanity in its onward march toward perfection. Institutions are not finalities, but means to the attainment of an end—the end, human happiness and well-being. So long as they serve the end for which they were ordained, let them be maintained; but let there be no hesitation in modifying or abrogating them in obedience to the demands of a progressive Humanity.

A. D. SMITH.

To leave a people to themselves, is generally the best service their rulers can render.—[Channing.

Marriage.

In the earlier ages marriage was no more nor less than a species of chattelism. The wife was bought for a price, and as effectually owned and controlled as any slave of Carolina is now. We have only partially grown out of the system and practice. We allow, usually, the victim to have a voice in the sale, and pretend to give her the price,—a home—a handsome man—a rich estate—or a man to lead her round, and wait on her by day, for her company by night. We have also secured her some other privileges, such as a defense in law against beating and whipping, against sale or transfer, &c. But her husband may abuse her body far worse than by whipping, in other ways, and escape even censure. He may poison her with the fumes or juice of tobacco, or rum, a fetid breath and filthy body. He may starve her, rob her of all enjoyment of society, and even her children; may compel her to sleep with him when she loathes him, and torture and torment her life continually; and our religion and society provide no remedy, and our laws but little, in some States none. But neither husband, nor law, nor church, can make her love him under such treatment, nor by any other, except as it is spontaneous, voluntary and mutual; and, when it is, none of these acts will be found, and no law or religion will be required; for they will neither make nor unmake, create nor destroy, that love which alone can and should bind two souls and bodies in wedlock. All they can or ought to do is to acknowledge or recognize it, and never attempt to do that where true marriage does not already exist, nor in parties where it has already ceased to exist.

It is such modification in our marriage laws as shall adapt them to the present advanced state of society, and save them from destruction, that I advocate—such as shall give the wife every advantage, right, and privilege of the husband, and secure to her all the rights of person and property she had before marriage, and protect her in them, and if she shall choose to eat or sleep by herself she shall not be forced to do otherwise, and she should be as free to visit and be visited as before marriage; and then the husband would be compelled to treat her as well as he did when he was only a lover, in order to retain her love, and of course by such treatment could secure and retain it as fully and effectually. If husbands remained lovers, wives would remain true, and faithful, and affectionate, and continue to grow more so; the sexual and parental relations would only increase their attachment and enhance their enjoyment. But now no husband is expected to be a lover, at least not to his wife; but soon as marriage is consummated he is the lord and master, however inferior he may be.—[Warren Chase.]

The Spiritual Forces.

Recuperation is natural to all living bodies. Every derangement, if curable at all, the self-repairing energies may overcome with harmony. Only open your understanding to a knowledge of those magnetic agencies, or perhaps mechanical aids, which will remove obstructions, and thus put into Nature's hands the reins of physical government. Man's fearfully constructed body is more than paralleled by his wonderful mind. This power is endowed with the tendency to work both ways; it will either bring disease upon the body or remove it. If your own mind can not begin the work, (which many times happens,) then avail yourself of the healing attributes of another mind. If your entrained imagination still needs a visible medicine to fix its faith upon, why—we are sorry for you—send for the only physician in whom you believe; and then straightway "let us pray" that he (or she) will give you the most artistically small dose of medicine possible for his sense of justice and adaptation to suggest.

The truth is, that, accidents excepted, the great majority of human bodily diseases are of mental origin. Disturbances begin in the forces and end in the forms; therefore, by virtue of a psychological and physiological necessity, the remedy must commence in the form and terminate in the spiritual constitution. Swallowing a disgusting mass of medicine is never necessary, any more than is a weekly dose of orthodox religion indispensable to good morals and happiness after death; and yet, disgraceful and disagreeable as it is, there are millions of our humanity who habitually take atrociously large doses of both! From all this, and innumerable other equally popular outrages, "good Lord deliver us!"

—[Harbinger of Health.]

Shall this blood be shed in vain? Baptized in such blood, will you not name free the soil where it was shed? Shall a plowshare, guided by the hand of a slave, throw up, to whiten in the sun, the bones of patriots who fell in this struggle for their Country?

Crowd your patriot soldiers to the field, happy in their privilege to be there; make every fight a victory, but let the men who fall on those red fields die in the assured belief that their blood was not merely spilled upon the ground, but that it went to cement the corner stones in this great temple of universal liberty, and when the roar of the battle, with all other mortal sounds, is fading in their ears, let them feel that their souls, too, are marching on to join that noble army of martyrs which every good cause demands. Justify their sacrifices, and at once, by a great act, place yourselves on one of the grand pinnacles of history. And if on that great summit the halo which surrounds you is tinged with a reddened light reflected from many a bloody field, it will not come from your setting sun, but will be the light of a new and glorious morning, which will illuminate the world.—[John C. Fremont.]

General McClellan.

While we share the feeling of shame, sorrow and indignation generally felt over this most "lame and impotent conclusion" of the Peninsula campaign, we can confess to no disappointment. General McClellan has fully met our expectations. From the day we read his declaration concerning the suppression of slave insurrections, we instinctively knew our man, and from him expected nothing as a warrior. The battle or slaughter of Bull's Run, the movement on the dead horses and wooden guns of Manassas, the return of fugitive slaves to their masters, the disallowance of Anti-Slavery singing among his soldiers, the guarding of rebel property, while his owners are engaged in shooting down loyal men, the profligacy lavished upon him by all the irresponsible Pro-Slavery presses and politicians of the North, taught us to look for all that has happened in the shape of disasters, defeats, retreats, and failure which have marked the history of McClellan on the Peninsula. We had no faith to lose in this man, and should have been more surprised by his success than we are by his present stupendous and disgraceful failure. It is a consolation to us that no look, word, or gesture of ours has created or increased the confidence of any man in this General. The heart of McClellan is with Slavery. Satan does not cast out Satan. For a square stand-up fight with slaveholding rebels, the loyal sword must not be in Pro-Slavery hands. The hands of our Generals must be unpolluted by Slavery. McClellan has no such hands, and can make no such fight as the crisis demands. To oppose such a General to an earnest General like Stonewall Jackson, is madness. It is a strutting turkey gobbler against the talons of an eagle.

Besides having no heart in this war, McClellan has clearly shown no martial ability. Success is a fair standard in the long run for all kinds of pretension, military or social. Exceptions only prove the rule. A man who habitually fails to do the right thing, and evermore does the wrong thing, never, by accident or otherwise accomplishes what he aims to accomplish, forfeits all respect for his pretensions. There is not a single instance in which this man McClellan, when left to himself, has done ought to put down this Rebellion. Mistakes and blunders to the advantage of the rebels, have characterized all his movements. When told to move in February, he collected a vast number of boats from all parts of the country in the Potomac, scarcely any of which could be used for the purpose for which they were obtained. When he moved upon Yorktown he was met by the same mortifying vacancy as at Manassas. He had ditched his army

nearly to death to no purpose. The enemy had betaken himself to another and stronger position. The succession of battles on the Peninsula have been little better than a series of defeats. It was "strategy" to go to the Peninsula, and it is "strategy" to leave the Peninsula, but all the strategic movements of this General have thus far only weakened the army, encouraged the rebels, and disheartened the Country.

The fall of McClellan has been as rapid as his rise. Wealth gotten by deceit, is soon wasted. He rose to power on the deeds of other men, and has fallen because found out. The titles of Western Virginia from which he derived his fame were neither planned nor fought by him. The people were cheated into the belief that the brilliant dispatch writer must be a valiant warrior. They are now quite bravely over this delusion. They have found that the "iron hand" of McClellan was for slaves rising for Liberty, not for slaveholders rising against Liberty. The appointment of Halleck over McClellan means all and more than all that meets the eye. We think it means that the fine steel engraving, the splendid horse, and the magnificent eulogies of "strategy" are about played out, and that hereafter we are to know McClellan either as a splendid military impostor or as a cold-blooded traitor to the loyal cause, and most probably the latter will be the most generally accepted designation.

For the sake of the Country, sadly in want of an able and faithful General, we might lament the fall of McClellan, if he were such a General. For the sake of freedom now wounded and bleeding by the hands of rebels and traitors, we might mourn if McClellan were truly the friend of freedom. But being neither an able General, nor a friend to impartial Liberty, and his very name being the watchword of all those who would rivet forever the chains on four million slaves and permanently install over the Country the insolent slave power, neither the Country nor the friends of freedom can have any tears to shed over the humiliation of this man McClellan. The decline of his power is the best sign of hope for the Country which this month has given us. If we must have a political General, as indeed it seems we must, men who are no sooner on the field than their eyes are turned towards the Presidency, let us have one who will at least be as careful not to kill Northern as Southern voters.

—[Douglass' Monthly.]

Whatever is, is right—right for its time—

No more. Another age brings higher truth,

Sees nobler yearnings, and a fuller prime,—

And infant robes suit not the growing youth.

Why do such robes, then, round advanced souls
cling?

—[O. S. Wait.]

Marriage.

In the earlier ages marriage was no more nor less than a species of chattelism. The wife was bought for a price, and as effectually owned and controlled as any slave of Carolina is now. We have only partially grown out of the system and practice. We allow, usually, the victim to have a voice in the sale, and pretend to give her the price,—a home—a handsome man—a rich estate—or a man to lead her round, and wait on her by day, for her company by night. We have also secured her some other privileges, such as a defense in law against beating and whipping, against sale or transfer, &c. But her husband may abuse her body far worse than by whipping, in other ways, and escape even censure. He may poison her with the fumes or juice of tobacco, or rum, a fetid breath and filthy body. He may starve her, rob her of all enjoyment of society, and even her children; may compel her to sleep with him when she loathes him, and torture and torment her life continually; and our religion and society provide no remedy, and our laws but little, in some States none. But neither husband, nor law, nor church, can make her love him under such treatment, nor by any other, except as it is spontaneous, voluntary and mutual; and, when it is, none of these acts will be found, and no law or religion will be required; for they will neither make nor unmake, create nor destroy, that love which alone can and should bind two souls and bodies in wedlock. All they can or ought to do is to acknowledge or recognize it, and never attempt to do that where true marriage does not already exist, nor in parties where it has already ceased to exist.

It is such modification in our marriage laws as shall adapt them to the present advanced state of society, and save them from destruction, that I advocate—such as shall give the wife every advantage, right, and privilege of the husband, and secure to her all the rights of person and property she had before marriage, and protect her in them, and if she shall choose to eat or sleep by herself she shall not be forced to do otherwise, and she should be as free to visit and be visited as before marriage; and then the husband would be compelled to treat her as well as he did when he was only a lover, in order to retain her love, and of course by such treatment could secure and retain it as fully and effectually. If husbands remained lovers, wives would remain true, and faithful, and affectionate, and continue to grow more so; the sexual and parental relations would only increase their attachment and enhance their enjoyment. But now no husband is expected to be a lover, at least not to his wife; but soon as marriage is consummated he is the lord and master, however inferior he may be.—[Warren Chase.]

The Spiritual Forces.

Recuperation is natural to all living bodies. Every derangement, if curable at all, the self-repairing energies may overcome with harmony. Only open your understanding to a knowledge of those magnetic agencies, or perhaps mechanical aids, which will remove obstructions, and thus put into Nature's hands the reins of physical government. Man's fearfully constructed body is more than paralleled by his wonderful mind. This power is endowed with the tendency to work both ways; it will either bring disease upon the body or remove it. If your own mind can not begin the work, (which many times happens,) then avail yourself of the healing attributes of another mind. If your entrained imagination still needs a visible medicine to fix its faith upon, why—we are sorry for you—send for the only physician in whom you believe; and then straightway "let us pray" that he (or she) will give you the most artistically small dose of medicine possible for his sense of justice and adaptation to suggest.

The truth is, that, accidents excepted, the great majority of human bodily diseases are of mental origin. Disturbances begin in the forces and end in the forms; therefore, by virtue of a psychological and physiological necessity, the remedy must commence in the form and terminate in the spiritual constitution. Swallowing a disgusting mass of medicine is never necessary, any more than is a weekly dose of orthodox religion indispensable to good morals and happiness after death; and yet, disgraceful and disagreeable as it is, there are millions of our humanity who habitually take atrociously large doses of both! From all this, and innumerable other equally popular outrages, "good Lord deliver us!"

—[Harbinger of Health.]

Shall this blood be shed in vain? Baptized in such blood, will you not name free the soil where it was shed? Shall a plowshare, guided by the hand of a slave, throw up, to whiten in the sun, the bones of patriots who fell in this struggle for their Country?

Crowd your patriot soldiers to the field, happy in their privilege to be there; make every fight a victory, but let the men who fall on those red fields die in the assured belief that their blood was not merely spilled upon the ground, but that it went to cement the corner stones in this great temple of universal liberty, and when the roar of the battle, with all other mortal sounds, is fading in their ears, let them feel that their souls, too, are marching on to join that noble army of martyrs which every good cause demands. Justify their sacrifices, and at once, by a great act, place yourselves on one of the grand pinnacles of history. And if on that great summit the halo which surrounds you is tinged with a reddened light reflected from many a bloody field, it will not come from your setting sun, but will be the light of a new and glorious morning, which will illuminate the world.—[John C. Fremont.]

General McClellan.

While we share the feeling of shame, sorrow and indignation generally felt over this most "blame and impotent conclusion" of the Peninsula campaign, we can confess to no disappointment. General McClellan has fully met our expectations. From the day we read his declaration concerning the suppression of slave insurrections, we instinctively knew our man, and from him expected nothing as a warrior. The battle or slaughter of Bull's Bluff, the movement on the dead horses and wooden guns of Manassas, the return of fugitive slaves to their masters, the disallowance of Anti Slavery singing among his soldiers, the guarding of rebel property, while its owners are engaged in shooting down loyal men, the praises lavished upon him by all the treacherable Pro Slavery press and politicians of the North, taught us to look for all that has happened in the shape of disasters, defeats, retreats, and failure which have marked the history of McClellan on the Peninsula. We had no faith to lose in this man, and should have been more surprised by his success than we are by his present stupendous and disgraceful failure. It is a consolation to us that no look, word, or gesture of ours has created or increased the confidence of any man in this General. The heart of McClellan is with Slavery. Satan does not cast out Satan. For a square stand-up fight with slaveholding rebels, the loyal sword must not be in Pro Slavery hands. The hands of our General must be unpolluted by Slavery. McClellan has no such hands, and can make no such fight as the crisis demands. To oppose such a General to an earnest General like Stonewell Jackson, is madness. It is a strutting turkey gobbler against the talons of an eagle.

Besides having no heart in this war, McClellan has clearly shown no martial ability. Success is a fair standard in the long run for all kinds of pretension, military or social. Exceptions only prove the rule. A man who habitually fails to do the right thing, and evermore does the wrong thing, never, by accident or otherwise accomplishes what he aims to accomplish, for he has all respect for his pretensions. There is not a single instance in which this man McClellan, when left to him self, has done ought to put down this Rebellion. Mistakes and blunders to the advantage of the rebels, have characterized all his movements. When told to move in February, he collected a vast number of boats from all parts of the country in the Potomac, scarcely any of which could be used for the purpose for which they were obtained. When he moved upon Yorktown he was met by the same mortifying vacancy as at Manassas. He had ditched his army

nearly to death to no purpose. The enemy had betaken himself to another and stronger position. The succession of battles on the Peninsula have been little better than a series of defeats. It was "strategy" to go to the Peninsula, and it is "strategy" to leave the Peninsula, but all the strategic movements of this General have thus far only weakened the army, encouraged the rebels, and disheartened the Country.

The fall of McClellan has been as rapid as his rise. Wealth gotten by death, is soon wasted. He rose to power on the deeds of other men, and has fallen because found out. The battles of Western Virginia from which he derived his fame were neither planned nor fought by him. The people were cheated into the belief that the brilliant dispatch writer must be a valiant warrior. They are now quite heavily over this delusion. They have found that the "iron hand" of McClellan was for slaves rising for Liberty, not for slaveholders rising against Liberty. The appointment of Halleck over McClellan means all and more than all that meets the eye. We think it means that the fine steel engraving, the splendid horse, and the magnificent eulogies of "strategy" are about played out, and that hereafter we are to know McClellan either as a splendid military impostor or as a cold-blooded traitor to the loyal cause, and most probably the latter will be the most generally accepted designation.

For the sake of the Country, sadly in want of an able and faithful General, we might lament the fall of McClellan, if he were such a General. For the sake of freedom now wounded and bleeding by the hands of rebels and traitors, we might mourn if McClellan were truly the friend of freedom. But being neither an able General, nor a friend to impartial Liberty, and his very name being the watchword of all those who would fixt forever the chains on four million slaves and permanently establish over the Country the insolent slave power, neither the Country nor the friends of freedom can have any tears to shed over the humiliation of this man McClellan. The decline of his power is the best sign of hope for the Country which this month has given us. If we must have a political General, as indeed it seems we must, men who are no sooner on the field than their eyes are turned towards the Presidency, let us have one who will at least be as careful not to kill Northern as Southern voters.

—[Douglass' Monthly.]

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And infant robes suit not the growing youth.

Why do such robes, then, round advanced souls
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—[O. S. Wait.]

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FRANCIS BARRY, EDITOR.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

ZERAH MASTERS, C. M. OVERTON,
ORSON S. MURRAY.

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Reality.

Our life is somewhat unreal and unsatisfactory. It does not yield us net results. There is a large proportion of dross to our ore, of chaff to our grain. Our highest successes seem like so many failures. The reality we seem, in no wise, to attain. We think to shut our hand on it, but it escapes through our fingers like thin air. Nature seems to mock us with large hopes and small realizations. We vex ourselves with many cares to but little purpose. The fruit of our labors does not seem to reward the toil. Our wealth does not enrich us. Our life is not reinforced and fortified thereby. It does not bring us safety and content, putting our life above fear and disturbance, but fetters and enslaves us instead.

Our learning does not make us wise. We acquire manifold facts, but do not learn the meaning thereof. They give us but little insight into our own life and history. We store our memory with many wise sayings, but this wide and deep mystery of being in which we are held finds no explanation at our hands. Our knowledge is foreign to our life, and does not quicken nor enlarge our mental vision.

With our religion and morals it fares no better. Our faith is mainly an immense skepticism and unbelief—our Theism a deep-rooted Atheism. It does not inspire us with trust and hope. We are harassed with perplexing doubts, and are fearful lest the Universe fall asunder.

We accept the seeming for the reality—the show for the substance. We cheat ourselves with forms and conventionalities.

There is a wide distinction made in society, between what a man HAS and what he IS. We speak of a man and his wealth, or his learning, or virtue, just as if the man could be separated from his havings, as if himself were one thing, and his learning and virtues another and outside of him. This difference is only apparent and not real, growing out of the dullness of our perceptions. In strictest truth, only that which is, as it were, a part of a man's self, which has been thoroughly incorporated into his life, forms his genuine possessions. We deck ourselves

with many externals and fancy ourselves rich, but we are not. We have covered ourselves with bubbles, but not solid wealth.

It is the wise soul that makes the wise man. The acquisition of manifold facts will not furnish me with genuine knowledge unless these facts are also representative of my own thought and feeling. I must, in some manner, have encountered the same facts in my own life and history. What I can not corroborate and substantiate in my own experience, is unexplainable by me, and refuses to become a part of my knowledge. Whoever would acquire a wide, deep knowledge, must bring it from the depths of his own nature. The facts of universal history must be reproduced in his own private history, then will he carry the history of the world with him and ever ready at his command. Of what avail for me to read the lives of great men—of gods and heroes—unless I can find some correspondence in my own life to the brave and manly thoughts and deeds there recorded. It is not what we read that makes us wise, but what we have lived. I find many small men familiar with the facts in the lives of great men, but who do not become enlarged thereby.

It is vain to burden ourselves with external wealth and knowledge, and fancy ourselves thus becoming rich and wise. Only so far as these externals represent what we ourselves are, will they become a real force and power in our lives. The man of dollars, if he have only dollars, is a weak force in society. And no less true is it of the man of facts, if he have only barren facts. His knowledge will pass for little worth. It is only when the strong soul works behind the dollars and the facts, do they become armed with potency and prevailing power. Then do they pass for value and wisdom.

Our actions, also, carry with them but little weight, only so far as they are representative of what thought and feeling we have. A man performs that the most effectively which his nature impels him to do—which is the natural and spontaneous outflowing of what life and vigor he has in him. The virtue of the act is not itself, but in the strength of the impulse that lies behind it. The act carries weight with it because expressive of the thought or feeling which put it forth. Another, without the same thought or feeling, shall perform the same action and without effect. It does not represent him, and falls ineffective at his feet.

The men whose fame has gone around the world and traveled through the ages, are those who have wrought and conquered because they must—irresistible in their course, because driven by an irresistible force within.

The only actions which carry force with them, and are helpful, are those which are sustained by our character. It is vain for society to burden itself with manifold charities and benevolent institutions which are not the outgrowth of a thorough good-will in the public heart. It is useless to give

charities as a duty and a drudgery. No one is fed and clothed thereby. The dollar which is not representative of kind feeling in the heart of the giver will not warm nor bless the receiver.

"That is no true alms which the hand can hold."

He only gives who seeks, in his giving, an outlet to the full heart within.

"The hand can not clasp the whole of his alms,
For a god goes with it and makes it store
To the soul that was starving in darkness before."

These observations teach us that it is needful to **BE** and not seem—that in order to give those things which we have or do a real and solid value, we must be real and solid ourselves. A man must find the worth of his dollar in his soul, else it will be a worthless dollar to him, in no wise making him rich. Our knowledge must somehow be certified in our own experience, and our actions, to be genuine, must be such as we can not but choose to perform. We need not burden ourselves with conventional virtues which do not represent us. It is only needful that a man say and do that which properly belongs to him. Because society makes virtue to consist in conforming to certain forms, and performing certain services, it is not needful that I should do those things unless my life also lie in the same direction.

A man's resources are in himself. What he is, that he has. Any accumulation of external wealth will not make a sordid soul rich. His gains will be empty and worthless as himself. A large and generous soul can not be made poor. He is rich and value in himself.

It is vain to go out of ourselves in search of realities. All things without are such as ourselves. It is the reality of the soul within that gives reality to the world without. The soul invests all things with its own likeness. To the sordid soul all things seem sordid. Nothing green nor fair shall bloom anywhere. Sun, moon, stars, man, and the Planet he inhabits, appear mean and small. Nature is niggard and miserly, only productive of low and sordid gains. To the great and reverent soul all things are changed. Sun, moon and stars are hung with resplendent glories. The Earth is a garden of wealth and beauty, yielding infinite largess to man; and man himself becomes the beautiful child of this wide loving Nature which enfolds all in its motherly embrace.

Let the life within be made rich and fair, and all things without will answer thereto. Every man shall receive according to his capacity. The wealth of the Universe is for him who can receive it. He shall have only that he can take up into himself. The rest is tinsel and not gold.

H. S.

It is **TRUE** that Man is fit for freedom. No being is fit for slavery. There is no being who will not develop faster in freedom than in slavery. In fact it is true that only so far as a man is free can he develop at all.

F. D.

The Constitution—its Provision for Amendment.

Two years ago—before this war commenced—I said and published:

"That pertinacious adherence to parchments has poured out seas of human blood."

This was said without the remotest thought, the slightest apprehension, that its truthfulness was so soon, so strikingly, so terribly, to be demonstrated in relation to the United States Constitution. True, it was said in connection with contemplating the workings of that worshiped thing, and the persistency of its worshipers in adhering to its unrighteous, its iniquitous provisions. But often and intense thinking on the subject during more than thirty years, had failed to bring me to the expectation of all this terribleness of legitimate results, as being so near at hand, even at our doors, and now upon us with overwhelming desolation, swaying us, sweeping us most fearfully, most frightfully, toward the verge of annihilation.

If we stop short of utter ruin—if we succeed in throwing off this smothering National nightmare—if we come out of this extinguishing furnace—if we survive this devastating storm—if we escape this whelming flood—if we are not all swallowed up by this yawning maelstrom—as many as are left will have to decide between starting on another such career, with the "Union as it was and the Constitution as it is," pointing unmistakably to a fate identical with what we are now experiencing—and starting in another course, on a track better laid, on foundations that shall insure a better destiny.

My thought at this time and in this connection is, to point out something preferable to the provision of the United States Constitution for amendment—for improvement—for progress out of worse into better conditions, and not out of better into worse, as we have hitherto been going, led and dictated by this and other blind and blinding guides.

Our Constitution provides for beginning at the wrong end, starting in the wrong place, and going in the wrong direction, under the pretension of amendment. In fact, the provision is almost preventive of starting at all. In reality, it has proved itself worse than to have had no provision under any pretension for amendment. For the self-demonstration in the case is, that the progress provided for has been downward; and then, after three-quarters of a century of downward plunging, the start for **AMENDMENT** has been still downward. The original start was Slavery insinuated, disguised under ambiguous phrase, eschewing its own odious name. The start for **AMENDMENT** has been an attempt at the displacing of this confessedly "cunning and insincere compact of pacification," with a bold, brazen, audacious attempt to interpolate the infernal name of the infernal thing, and make it "unalterable"—make it "irrevocable."

It is provided that the start shall be made by the politicians, and not by the people—if indeed any start

is to be made at all. What then is to be looked for in the case, but that the interests of the people will be made subservient to the interests of the politicians. In undertaking to decide as to whether or not there shall be any alteration; and, if any, what that shall be? Read from the parchment:

"ARTICLE V. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: provided, that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

It is to be presumed that, "equal suffrage in the Senate," was intended to mean, in what is called and considered to be the upper House in the National Legislature, the voice of Delaware shall be equal to the voice of Ohio—the voice of South Carolina equal to the voice of New York—the voice of Florida equal to the voice of Pennsylvania,—and that this provision shall be unamendable—"unalterable," "irrevocable." This single provision of the parchment alone is a thousand times sufficient reason for tearing in tatters the treason-creating thing, burning it to ashes, and scattering it in the winds. It has acted no small proportional part—no insignificant part—in producing this war, the like of which no antecedent ignorance and barbarism has been equal to producing.

But this is not what has been considered the leading feature of this Vth Article. The prominent feature has been thought to be the pretended provision for amending the parts left amendable. This virtually and quite effectually puts it out of the power of the people and into the power of the politicians, leaving it in the discretion of the latter, as to when and how the move shall be made. The consequence has been, that we have been three-quarters of a century prevented moving; and then when the move has been legitimately made, it has been backward and not forward; it has been toward absolute despotism, and not toward enlargement of freedom. Slavery has been encouraged to uncover its shame, come forth in its shocking shamelessness and awful audacity, and with its own ILLEGITIMATE votes CONSTITUTIONALLY provided, undertake to foist its own infamous name where the fathers, for conscience and for shame, refused to place it. The Seward Corwin proposed alteration of the Constitution in favor of Slavery was carried by a vote of 24 to 12 in the Senate, and of 133 to 65 in the House. Exactly enough in the Senate to come up to the Constitutional requirement—not a vote over. And in the House but just three votes over and above what were required. So

that the property vote of Slavery procured the alteration of the Constitution in Slavery's own favor, for the unalterable perpetuation of that illegitimate balance of power. And this atrocious conspiracy against freedom was commenced and engineered through by Northern conspirators and arch-traitors.

Look at the insuperable hindrances to amendment. It must not be undertaken till Congress finds and feels motives for undertaking it. Now Congress finds its interest in making complication for the sake of employment in pretension to regulation. The priests of religion blind the people with a look that begins with forbidding knowledge, and leaves off with injunctions and penalties against adding to or taking from this knowledge-forbidding look. This makes the development to be downward. The idea is of falling, and not of rising—of getting worse, and not of getting better; that wisdom is in inexperience, and not in experience; that it is presumptuous and impious for successors to think of knowing more or doing better than predecessors. The priests of politics join in the league. They conspire with the priests of religion to blind and enslave the people by teaching them that the teachings of the fathers are not to be transcended; that the authoritative writings of the fathers are to be kept in a "holiness of holies" by the consecrated hands of politicians, and not to be desecrated by the unsanctified hands of the people. All this is just so much—goes just so far—and it is a great deal and a great way—toward setting in the downward direction.

But the previous work is to prevent starting at all. Hands off—stand afar off, O ye profane—is the oracular protest to the people. And then the work of the holy hands is to settle the strife among themselves and see who is to have the handling of the holy thing, making it to think their own thoughts, speak their own words and do their own work, in keeping the masses submissive and subservient to their own purposes. One party is restrained from proposing amendment and improvement, lest the other party get advantage and make its rival unpopular among the minions, darlings and dupes.

Then the Constitution being a divided kingdom—a strife of enemies—a struggle of antagonisms,—in these alone there is almost insuperable hindrance to a single initiatory step toward amendment. It is natural, it is sequent, that a move for freedom should be resisted in behalf of Slavery; and that a move for Slavery should be resisted in behalf of freedom. The misfortune arises from the folly of having undertaken to make two antipathies dwell together in unity and harmony; and the other folly of thinking that the perpetrators of the former folly were at once the source and the consummation of wisdom. It is most natural and rational that they who are in the interest of Slavery should treat as conspirators and enemies, violating the Constitution, as many as seek a Constitutional overthrow of Slavery; for it is a violation of THEIR part of the Constitution. And so

it is equally natural and rational, on the other hand, that those in the interest of liberty should treat in like manner those who seek the Constitutional overthrow of freedom. For the Constitution fairly lays a foundation for both of these things, and for all of this confusion and violence. One part of it violates the other part of it—tends to the overthrow of the other part of it.

Our destruction is, that the masses can be kept in such ignorance that they can be duped by the priests of religion and priests of politics, and made to fight and kill each other for books and parchments, the instrumentalities of those who dupe and devour them. So blinded and so blind are they, they can not see the contradictions, the hostilities, the antagonisms. Each of the two contending classes can see its own justification in the Constitution, and can reason from that to the condemnation of the other; but neither can see that it is the condemnation of the Constitution that it justifies both and tells them they must be reconciled; and that under this monstrous authority they are driven into, dragged into, and kept in, exterminating war.

But what has all this to do with Constitutional amendment? It has very much to do by way of preventing it. It creates entire division of purpose, and thus wastes in fruitless contention, kept up by those who employ themselves at keeping it up for the sake of the employment and the pay. See how many chances there are for abortion—if at any time potency for conception can possibly be attained to. There must be a two-thirds majority among these scheming, plotting, bargaining, bribing politicians—buying each other off, pairing each other off, murdering each other off—any how and every how staying off every proposition and any proposition for **AMENDMENT**, before it can take one step toward getting to the people, whose interest it is to have amendment. Or there must be movement by two-thirds of the Legislatures of the States, so radically divided in their sectional interests, and so evenly divided in their powers Constitutionally provided for checking and balancing each other. Then when this two-thirds initiatory process has been reached, there must still be ratification by three-fourths of the Legislatures of the States—or conventions, if Congress so appoint. And when all this is done, there is scarcely a possibility that it is fairly before, or fully in reach of, the people yet. For if it be conventional action that is provided for by Congress, it will be quite sure to be appointed with reference to the interests of Congress, and not the interests of the people. And if it be Legislative action, the chances are that it will come before many—perhaps most—of Legislatures elected without this question before the people.

Now look at the Constitution of Vermont, in this matter of amendment:

“Sec. 43. In order that the freedom of this Commonwealth may be preserved inviolate forever, there

shall be chosen by ballot, by the freemen of this State, on the last Wednesday in March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, and on the last Wednesday in March in every seven years thereafter, thirteen persons, who shall be chosen in the same manner the Council is chosen, except they shall not be out of the Council or General Assembly, to be called the COUNCIL OF CENSORS, who shall meet together on the first Wednesday of June next ensuing their election, the majority of whom shall be a quorum in every case, except as to calling a Convention, in which two-thirds of the whole number elected shall agree; and whose duty it shall be to inquire whether the Constitution has been kept inviolate in every part during the last septennary, (including the year of their service,) and whether the Legislative and Executive branches of Government have performed their duty as guardians of the people, or assumed to themselves, or exercised other or greater powers than they are entitled to by the Constitution. They are also to inquire whether the public taxes have been justly laid and collected in all parts of this Commonwealth; in what manner the public moneys have been disposed of and whether the laws have been duly executed. For these purposes they shall have power to send for persons, papers and records;—they shall have authority to pass public censures, to order impeachments, and to recommend to the Legislature the repealing of such laws as shall appear to them to have been passed contrary to the principles of the Constitution; these powers they shall continue to have for and during the space of one year from the day of their election, and no longer. The said Council of Censors shall also have power to call a Convention, to meet within two years after their sitting, if there appears to them an absolute necessity of amending any articles of the Constitution which may be defective, explaining such as may be thought not clearly expressed, and of adding such as are necessary, for the preservation of the rights and happiness of the people. But the articles to be amended, and the amendments proposed, and such articles as are proposed to be added or abolished, shall be promulgated at least six months before the day appointed for the election of such Convention, for the previous consideration of the people, that they may have an opportunity of instructing their delegates on the subject.”

[It may be proper to explain that the word “Council” here, as pertaining to a part of the Legislature, was formerly used in Vermont instead of Senate, and “General Assembly” instead of House of Representatives; and that the number “thirteen” was the then number of Counties in the State.]

Between this Constitutional provision for amendment and improvement, and that of the United States Constitution, how different the considerations;—how widely different the manifest intentions;—and more different still, if possible, the results. The amendment clause of the United States Constitution was plainly planned and constructed with reference to making amendment as nearly impossible of attainment as could be. To this end, the work is removed as far as possible from the hands of the people, and as much as possible adapted to being kept in the control and interests of the politicians. Hence the transmission of the iniquitous thing, with its barbarizing, brutalizing abominations, to the present time—

and with it and by it the disposition created to perpetuate it as it was and as it is—in truth, the disposition to make it worse, to make it more abominable, if any alteration be undertaken.

But the consideration, the intention, plainly expressed in the amendment clause of the Vermont Constitution, is—not to provide employment and pay for politicians, but—"to preserve the freedom of the Commonwealth inviolate forever." To this end, the work is committed directly, unreservedly, to the hands of the people; and every seventh year the Constitution and all pertaining to it in its provisions, its adaptations, and its administration, go forward into the hands of the people, for revision and adaptation to advancing events and developments.

Now, if the United States Constitution, in its amendment clause, had been made thus plainly to recognize the people as the source of power, and had been made to commit itself to their hands once in ten or fifteen years, for revision and adaptation to advancing events and developments, we had long before this time been rid of Slavery, the cause of this war—and of course had not had the war. It is condemnation enough of the United States Constitution, that in its amendment clause, it puts itself so effectually out of the reach of the people.

The Constitution is the property of the people. It is their right to do their pleasure with it. It is for them to amend it if it be worth amending,—or, if it be already so worn and despoiled by long misuse and abuse that amending it would be sewing new cloth into an old garment and making the rent worse, it is for them to cast it aside and put a superior in its place. I was half tempted to use a Christian vulgarity and say, "God knows" it is sufficiently "tattered and torn." But if he had known anything about it, and could have done anything for it, he would have done his friends a favor and himself honor by saving it from its present conditions. The people will regard the Constitution and use it very much as they are taught to regard and use it, by the priests, the politicians and the press. All these will use the Constitution as they do their Bible and their god, to keep the people in ignorance and enslave them just as much as they dare. Bibles and constitutions are made to curse mankind a thousand times more than to bless them. O. S. M.

Individual Sovereignty is the basis of all sovereignty. Society is but an aggregation of individuals, has no rights the individual does not possess, and can never rightfully interfere with individual rights or prerogatives. Whenever any individual chooses to sustain any relation to any other individual, that other individual is the only being in the Universe that need be consulted in regard to the matter; provided always that the parties themselves assume all the costs and responsibilities involved in the relation. If the relation is dissolved the parties must pay the "debts of the concern." F. B.

The Proclamation.

President Lincoln has at last issued his Proclamation, giving freedom to the slaves on condition that their masters are continuing in rebellion on the first of January next. That the conditions will be met, on the part of the slaveholders, there is no doubt, and it is therefore likely that at the end of three months the slaves will be free, so far as proclamations are concerned. The friends of Freedom, and of a vigorous prosecution of the war, could have wished that the Proclamation, so long delayed, could have taken immediate effect; but it is all that could be expected, under the circumstances. Lincoln is a "slow coach"—his whole conduct of the war has been eminently like himself—and, whatever may be thought of his way of doing things, the present "Chief Magistrate" will, most likely, always be Abraham Lincoln. The effects of the Proclamation are to be seen. That it will contribute very materially to the downfall of Slavery, there can be no question; though the slaves may not, as an immediate consequence, come into actual possession of their liberty. The effect upon the war and the restoration of the Union, is another matter. The latter is an impossibility. The Union will not be restored. And it is not likely that the present Administration is, or ever will be, adequate to the successful prosecution of the war.

The first great trouble is that the Country has undertaken to do what is impossible to be done—to restore, or rather establish, a union between two sections in a state of deadly hostility to each-other. The idea is supremely preposterous. There are two reasons for a war with the South. One is that it is the duty of the people of the North to abolish Slavery by force of arms. The other is that the slaveholders are so lawless and aggressive that they need to be thoroughly subdued before they will exhibit any other character than that of land-pirates.

If a forced union between opposing sections was possible, still it would not be practicable in this case from the fact that the North are not united. The President's Proclamation will be a bone of contention. The North cannot unite on any policy. The Nation is a "house divided against itself." President Lincoln has been greatly blamed for his want of decision and energy. But any other course would, in my opinion, have precipitated the inevitable disruption at the North. The fault is in the people. The people of the North are not a unit in favor of a true policy; or any policy. A large majority are so united, I admit, but not a majority of the whole Nation. A majority of the people, take the whole Country through, North and South, are in sympathy with Slavery, and opposed to abolition. Lincoln is a minority President, but he has pacified the Pro-Slavery party, and been endured by his friends, and thus put off the final crisis as an energetic Radical could not have done. F. B.

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